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Selected Public Soviet Statements on the United States

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Selected Public Soviet Statements on the United States

Introduction

Soviet media commentary on the United States is calculated to serve Soviet foreign policy objectives and therefore changes its tone and message in response to changes in circumstances or policy. In recent months, Moscow has maintained a steady drumfire of criticism against U.S. leaders and policies, but it has not been as harsh as during periods of tension--for example, following the KAL shootdown in September 1983. (See Appendix F for an extreme example of 1983 comment.) Some of the most moderate comment in recent years occurred in the weeks following President Reagan's election in 1980, when Moscow appeared to be attempting to create an atmosphere that would encourage an improvement in bilateral relations.

Traditionally Soviet leaders have been more moderate than media commentators in their public statements on the United States, and this pattern holds true in the current period. Since the announcement in July of plans for the U.S.-Soviet summit, Soviet leaders have been restrained in their criticism of the President but have continued to express opposition to U.S. policies. General Secretary Gorbachev has emphasized the importance of creating a favorable atmosphere for the summit and on two occasions--in his Time magazine interview and during his press conference in Paris--he has spoken respectfully of President Reagan. He has continued, however, to publicly criticize U.S. policies, particularly on arms control.

Soviet commentators have been less restrained than the leaders, criticizing Administration officials as well as U.S. policy. Routine propaganda about life in the United States continues, as usual, to portray the U.S. capitalist system as a source of repression, racism, sexism, militarism, and exploitation. (See Appendix D)

The four Soviet journalists selected to interview President Reagan--Genrikh Borovik, Stanislav Kondrashov, Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, and Gennadiy Shishkin--are all senior members of their profession. With the exception of Borovik, each is known to hold the title of political observer, the highest rank accorded a journalist. Political observers are allowed greater latitude to comment on a broad range of subjects than are their lower ranking colleagues. In their treatment of the United States, Kondrashov, Ovchinnikov, and Shishkin appear to be well within

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the mainstream of Soviet commentary, while Borovik has been extreme in some of his attacks. (In addition to recent statements by these commentators, Appendix B includes a December 1983 television commentary in which Borovik likened U.S. policy to that of Hitler.)

This compilation includes selected statements from the four Soviet journalists, leadership statements, and routine propaganda materials illustrating the treatment of the United States in Soviet media.

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Appendix A

Highlights of Journalists' Statements

Genrikh Borovik, television commentator and editor of Theater magazine

- [The U.S. leaders want] to dictate their will to the world, to appoint governments, abrogate revolutions, proclaim colonies; that is, to control history, as though it were a cowboy's horse, to make it halt, come back, and do whatever they want. But this venture, aimed at controlling the world, gets one nowhere; people never have and never will accept it. (Soviet television, 3 Apr 85)

- Sometimes I think that it is not often that one can expect logic, morality, and conscience from the rulers of a society [the United States] in which there exist groups of people making money on manufacturing means of destruction and on blood. After all, the very system which is capable of enriching itself on war is illogical and amoral. (Soviet television, 21 Mar 85)

Stanislav Kondrashov, Izvestiya political observer

- At a press conference President Reagan was asked whether the targets chosen by the Israelis [in the bombing raid on PLO headquarters in Tunisia] were appropriate, in his view. He replied: "Oh yes, I always have great faith in their intelligence capabilities.". . .

  The world public was thus afforded yet another insight into the mind and consciousness of the American President, who is prepared to automatically justify any Israeli move, since his political instinct prompts him that otherwise there will be trouble with the powerful Israeli lobby inside America. The blessing of total license was so shocking that the U.S. Secretary of State contradicted the President in an attempt to soften the inevitable international response. . . . (Izvestiya, 3 Oct 85)

- The report "Ballistic Missile Defense Technology" prepared by associates of the [Office of Technology Assessment] was published last Wednesday. . . . While maintaining the experts' objectivity and impartiality, the authors of the report nonetheless give a clear idea of how dangerous the future may become if the incumbent Washington Administration were to go headlong into it with its "Star Wars" plans. . . . On the way toward these goals, Washington will probably have to abandon the American-Soviet treaty on the limitation of ABM defense systems, which is now instrumental in curbing the arms race. (Izvestiya, 30 Sep 85)

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• President Reagan is now on the political defensive, in particular at home against American critics. Some of these grieve that he is losing propaganda points in the process of preparations for the [Geneva summit] meeting. . . .

[In his latest press conference] Reagan specifically expressed anxiety that Moscow is trying with all its strength to inspire hope before Geneva. And, even more specifically, he tried to deal a perceptible blow to that hope. (Soviet television, 21 Sep 85)

• Observers believe that Reagan is losing prestige because of the Russians' peace offensive, as this is called in the American papers. This worries Washington, especially with the prospect of the November summit in view. (Soviet television, 6 Sep 85)

• The innocence of American hostages [in Beirut] does not itself remove either responsibility or blame from the American state. President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, and other officials, however, keep quiet about that, denying any such link as that which exists by way of direct cause and effect between general American policy and an individual episode where American passengers are captured and taken hostage. . . .

The latest story and the latest bout of hysteria, which is not yet over, are further vivid evidence of the famous American double standards, or in other words duplicity, duplicity and hypocrisy overlaid with racism and chauvinism. . . .

But even duplicity is not the most important aspect of the case. "International terrorism" was born and is growing because a fertile soil was created and is being fed for it by the cult of strength, which American imperialism asserts more strongly than before under Reagan--the cult of strength and its product, the lack of rights for those who do not have strength at their disposal. (Izvestiya, 28 Jun 85)

• Ronald Reagan had the reputation of a Teflon-coated President--nothing unpleasant stuck to him. When he won 49 states in the elections last November . . . the "Teflon President's" fame was strengthened. Six months later the aura of success shining on his brow began to fade. Since his unfortunate trip to West Europe people have been saying more and more often that the conservative superpresident has entered his decline, just like the inflated dollar that is resulting in increasing complications for the U.S. economy. (Izvestiya, 2 Jun 85)

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Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, Pravda political observer

- The U.S. ruling circles are striving to turn the Asia-Pacific region into yet another arena for military-political confrontation with the USSR, other socialist states, and the forces of national liberation. . . . Making Eastern Asia and the surrounding Pacific and Indian oceans a site for the deployment of forward-based nuclear means . . . is the goal of the U.S. strategists. . . . (Pravda, 25 Sep 85)

- Richard Perle is so loathsome a figure that he scarcely needs an introduction. . . . Even amid the flock of Washington "hawks" Perle stands out as an ultra-rabid anti-Soviet, an ultra-primitive anticommunist, and, as he demonstrated the other day, a cynical slanderer and provocateur. (Pravda, 8 Aug 85)

- [The atomic bombing of Japan] was done not for the military defeat of the enemy but for the political blackmail of an ally. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not the final military act of World War II but the first operation of the Cold War against the Soviet Union. The entire history of the infamous policy of nuclear blackmail serves as proof of that. (Pravda, 6 Aug 85)

- The obstructionist stance assumed by the Western powers in the Security Council has unmasked them before the whole world as backers of racist crimes and has clearly shown up the true nature of the course toward "constructive engagement" with Pretoria which the White House intends to stick to. (Pravda, 30 Jul 85)

- Giving free reign to his own fantasies, the White House incumbent keeps talking about some imaginary "confederation of terrorist states." He includes on this list Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba, and once again Nicaragua, which, as he claims, has become the "center of the international terrorist network." This is cynical slander. . . .

The transformation of the Somocista cutthroats, the Afghan dushmans, and the Pol Pot butchers into "freedom-fighters" is not simply an exchange of terms. It represents the proclamation of terrorism as a new U.S. export. (Pravda, 13 Jul 85)

- During these May days, the peace-loving public was indignant that, despite numerous protests, the U.S. President considered it possible to lay a wreath at a cemetery where SS men are buried during his visit to the FRG. The political subtext of these blasphemous acts

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is clear. If it is possible to bow down before monuments to the fascists on the pretext of "general reconciliation," then Washington evidently considers it even more permissible to extend a hand to their successors, the revanchists. (Pravda, 19 May 85)

• The U.S. President has publicly declared the intention to overthrow Nicaragua's democratic government, which was legitimately elected by the country's people. (Pravda, 5 Mar 85)

• South Korea is a graphic demonstration of the value of Washington demagoguery that the U.S. "mission" is to "foster and defend freedom and democracy and spread these ideals everywhere." For more than three decades now, the U.S. military has occupied the southern part of Korea, using bayonets to prop up the puppet tyrants it installed in office. . . . The facts are irrefutable: With the assistance of the Washington champions of "democracy," the whole of South Korea remains one big jail. (Pravda, 15 Feb 85)

Gennadiy Shishkin, TASS political observer

• [In his address to the UN General Assembly] the Secretary of State discarded all claims to realism and presented [U.S.-Soviet relations] in a distorted perspective. He reiterated the lopsided U.S. position on the issue of strategic arms and the pseudo-zero option on medium-range missiles, both of which had been laid bare long ago as an overt attempt of Washington to undermine the security of the Soviet Union with a view to giving the United States military superiority. (TASS, 23 Sep 85)

• Washington's frantic attempts to conceal its confusion and its unwillingness to meet Soviet peace initiatives halfway by claiming that Moscow's peace offensive is propaganda through and through ended in failure. The vain efforts by White House officials to justify the total absence of constructiveness in the official U.S. stance failed to convince anyone. Moreover, the Washington Administration is gearing up its hostile campaign against the Soviet Union in a bid to whitewash the United States' aggressive foreign policy and Washington's desire to launch another round of the arms race, including spreading it into outer space. In the last few days the U.S. President and Vice President joined the campaign. (Selskaya Zhizn, 14 Sep 85)

• Asia is kept in a state of fever by seats of tension and by large and small wars. This is caused by the actions of the aggressive forces of imperialism, militarism, and hegemonism. New countries

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and areas of Asia are being drawn into the military and political strategy of the United States, into the arms race, and into the realization of the "Pacific Ocean Doctrine." Washington's emissaries are busy knocking together a new bloc in the Asian-Pacific region after the pattern of NATO. (Selskaya Zhizn, 17 Aug 85)

• Whether the American hawks like it or not, our planet is the common home of all of us, and everyone has an equal interest in its safekeeping and security. The instinct of self-preservation is obviously not alien to the American Congress, either. Surely that is indicated by the fact that early this year Congress adopted a number of resolutions calling on the Administration to ratify the treaties concluded earlier in this sphere, to declare a moratorium from 6 August 1985 . . . on nuclear weapon tests, and to resume talks on a general and complete ban on such tests.

The Soviet Union has long been calling on Washington to act in precisely that way. The White House invariably responds to these appeals with a refusal. But it is not too late to display common sense. . . . It is up to Washington. (Selskaya Zhizn, 27 Jul 85)

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Appendix C

Selected Statements by Soviet Leaders

Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU general secretary

• Question (U.S. ABC television correspondent): Mr. General Secretary, you hinted in your statement this morning that there were elements of political demagogy in the U.S. reaction to your proposal on arms cuts. Do you mean President Reagan? If this is so, does it not contravene your statements to Time magazine that rhetoric should be softened during preparations for the Geneva meeting?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I want to reiterate everything I said in the interview to representatives of Time magazine. I would like to note right away that the remark I made was based on the information I had received. It would be, I think, irresponsible to create the impression that this is a propaganda shootout.

As for the position of Mr. Reagan, I was told this by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze--sensed on the part of the President and those who participated in the conversation, I mean Mr. Shultz, Mr. McFarlane, and others, a serious attitude toward our proposals. We hope that this will be really so. (Paris press conference, Pravda, 6 Oct 85)

• We are not declaring the United States an "evil empire." We know what the United States is, what the American people are, and their role in the world. We stand for a new, better stage in our relations. But if matters reach a qualitatively new stage of the arms race, which I have referred to, it will be much more difficult to solve such a task, if possible at all. . . .

You have also asked about my personal opinion of the President. I have not met with him and it is difficult for me to express my opinion of him in human terms. But in political terms we proceed from the premise that the President was elected by the American people, who are respected by our people, and we are prepared to do business with him. (Time magazine interview, Pravda, 2 Sep 85)

• American imperialism is at the forward edge of the war menace to mankind. U.S. policy is growing more bellicose in character and has become a constant negative factor in international relations, a factor we cannot ignore. The aggressive strivings of the ruling

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elite of that country are seen in the attempts to undermine the military-strategic balance, the basis of international security, in accelerating the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and in the dangerous plans for the militarization of space. Barbarous doctrines and concepts for using nuclear weapons are being developed and hundreds of military bases and installations established on all continents. (Speech marking 40th anniversary of World War II, Soviet television, 8 May 85)

• Washington is gambling on force, making no secret of the fact. It is counting on superior force that would subordinate the rest of the world to the United States. Diplomacy and negotiations are literally subordinate to missiles and bombers there, for it is a fact that new strategic arms programs are being forced through Congress by the same people who are conducting the talks in Geneva on behalf of the United States. . . .

I have singled out the factors that are primarily complicating Soviet-American relations and at times bring them to the verge of acute tension. But it appears that some people in the United States regard this situation as normal, considering confrontation to be a natural condition. We do not consider this to be the case. Confrontation is not an inborn defect in our relations. Rather, it is an anomaly. There is nothing inevitable about its continuation. We regard the improvement of Soviet-American relations as not only extremely necessary but possible. Of course, it is impossible to manage without reciprocity. (Interview with the editor of Pravda, Kommunist, signed to press 12 Apr 85)

Andrey Gromyko, foreign minister

• The conversation with President Ronald Reagan, during which the foundations of the Soviet Union's and United States' policies were set out on both sides, does not, unfortunately, make it possible to draw a conclusion about practical positive changes in the U.S. foreign policy course. It is not observed that the U.S. Administration is ready to take a realistic stand on the substance of the acute problems of war and peace, without whose mutually acceptable solution a turn for the better is impossible in either Soviet-U.S. relations or in the international situation. (Press statement in Washington, Pravda, 30 Sep 84)

• Soviet-American relations have undergone serious disruption as a result of the policy of the present U.S. Administration. . . . The American leadership is making a great mistake in believing that a line of this kind will benefit the United States in any way. . . .

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The aspiration of the United States to interfere in the affairs of other countries, to impose by rude force its orders on the peoples disorganizes international relations and leads to a dangerous aggravation of existing tensions and the emergence of new seats of tension in the world. (Report on meeting with Secretary Shultz, Pravda, 26 Sep 84)

Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU general secretary

- Washington is flaunting its great-power ambitions and exaggerated notions of America's role and place in the modern world with cynical frankness. It lays claim to being stronger than anyone else, to rule the destinies of peoples, and to dictate its will to all everywhere and anywhere. In a word, it is now a question of a "crusade" not only against socialism, but, in fact, the whole world. (Pravda interview, Pravda, 2 Sep 84)

Grigoriy Romanov, Politburo member

- Washington's reaction to these and other Soviet initiatives is invariably negative. The Republican Party's election platform reveals with cynical frankness the Reagan Administration's imperialist goals. Is there any worth in the peacemaking rhetoric constantly emanating from Washington? Only naive people can believe it, and we are not among them! (Speech to Ethiopian Workers Party Congress, Pravda, 9 Sep 84)

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Appendix D

Selected Soviet Comment on U.S. Domestic Conditions

Yuriy Kornilov (Selskaya Zhizn, 12 Oct 85)

> A true democracy is incompatible with the cult of force inside a country. It is inconceivable in a state where a blanket-coverage machinery for coercion has been built and is at work and where a system for arbitrary government rule has been established. But this is precisely the case in the United States. Hardly a week passes without reports coming in from that country about the ruthless repression of people found guilty or even just suspected of "dissidence"--people whose views contradict the views and policies of the ruling class. . . . The whip of most merciless reprisals is being used in the United States today to scourge a student marching in an antiwar demonstration, a black American raising his voice in protest against discrimination and racism, a factory worker who has joined a strike and a newsman who has had the temerity to reveal another sore of corruption. The turbid waves of violence, terror, and ruthlessness roll over America.

Robert Serebrennikov (TASS, 9 Oct 85)

> The speculations about "freedom of conscience," the favorite topic of U.S. Administration officials, are rejected by realities in the United States. While pursuing a policy of state-sponsored terrorism in international affairs, Washington has launched an all-out offensive at home on basic human rights, toughened discrimination against national minorities and stepped up police arbitrariness. The persecution of "prisoners of conscience" has become a norm of life in the United States.

Unattributed report (TASS, 22 Sep 85)

> President Reagan is leading things to bankruptcy of countryside America; he upholds the interests only of big agribusiness monopolies. This statement has been made on local radio by Democratic Senator Tom Harkin who represents in Congress Iowa, one of the granaries of the country. The acute crisis now being experienced by small and medium-small farms, the senator said, has led to a growth in suicides, divorces, and alcohol addiction among farmers. Many countryside families feel despair. American farmers are going bankrupt as a result of the Republican Party's agricultural policy, the senator said.

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Aleksandr Lyutiy (TASS, 17 Sep 85)

> The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees Americans the freedom of speech. This guarantee, however, remained on paper. Anyone daring to disagree with America's practices today faces threats, repression, and prison. Dozens of antiwar activists have been imprisoned only because they have voiced their indignation over the arms race, which is being escalated by Washington and which threatens to push the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe. The Fourth Amendment guarantees the American right to the inviolability of their homes, which, according to the Constitution, cannot be subjected to "unreasonable searches." In reality this stipulation is being constantly violated in the United States today. Under the Republican Administration, Americans are exposed to unprecedented scrutiny. The FBI, the political security service, has compiled information on virtually the entire adult population of the United States. The telephones of a large number of people are tapped and the homes of "dissidents" are searched without any explanations or court warrants.

Igor Charikov (Moscow domestic radio, 17 Sep 85)

> In recent years we have learned an increasing number of facts about the persecution of those Americans who come out against the stepping up of military expenditure and against U.S. interference in the internal affairs of other states. They include representatives of various levels of society from workers to eminent cultural and scientific figures. It is precisely against these that the U.S. repressive apparatus is spearheaded--an apparatus which receives from the Administration increasingly wide powers. In attacking the constitutional rights and liberties of their citizens, the ruling circles of the United States again show their hypocrisy in such a really important and topical question as the observation of human rights.

Yevgeniy Yegorov (TASS, 30 Aug 85)

> Sixty million Americans are "functionally illiterate," i.e., they cannot read a newspaper or fill out questionnaires, which are in such a wide use in that bureaucratic country. The public organizations in charge of education problems are unanimous in blaming the Reagan Administration for the drop in the educational level in the United States. The United States cuts from year to year spending on education as well as on other social programs, for the sake of diverting the funds thus released to military programs. . . . The White House encourages racism at U.S. schools. The Education

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Department has ended an investigation of cases of discrimination at secondary and higher educational establishments. All sorts of pretexts are used to increase aid to private schools, where the children of black Americans and Hispanics are not admitted . . . . The current Administration would like to turn the American schools into breeding grounds of religious obscurantism and reactionary ideas.

Aleksandr Lyutiy (TASS, 24 Aug 85)

Discrimination against women is characteristic not only of political life, but also of the socioeconomic life of the United States. American women, who make up 42 percent of the hired labor force, still get, on an average, only 59 percent of men's wages for equal work. Eighty percent of working American women are employed in the lowest paid sectors of production and consumer-oriented services. At the same time their share among the scientific community, electronics specialists, physicians, lawyers, and engineers is only 2 percent. A constitutional amendment on women's equal rights with men is known to have been recently "shelved" once again. It is not by chance that the U.S. national women's organization referred to the American women as the country's "second-rate citizens."

Yuriy Kornilov (Moscow domestic radio, 4 Jul 85)

The entire policy of the Republican Administration, which has set a course toward a sharp and unprecedented reduction of the most important and vital social programs, is constructed so that the social problems which are literally tearing America apart are not only not being eased but are becoming deeper and more acute. The army of those completely jobless in the United States today is more than 8 million strong. The picture of flourishing America, which bourgeois propaganda presents as little short of a society of universal prosperity, would not be complete without mentioning that over 30 million American citizens--according to official figures--live in the very depths of poverty, 20 million people suffer from chronic undernourishment and 13 million annually are victims of criminals. These are the consequences for ordinary Americans of the policies of the American Administration, which are allegedly pursed in the interests of the whole of society.

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Vladimir Kudryavtsev (TASS, 3 Jul 85)

> It is known that in the United States the special services hold files on 34 million so-called "suspicious citizens." Violation of human rights, dismissal from work, breaking up demonstrations, arrests, and kidnappings are widespread in the capitalist countries. But all these crying violations are carefully overlooked by bourgeois propagandists; they do not notice them, so to speak.

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Appendix F

Article from 5 October 1983 Literaturnaya Gazeta

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At first glance such a proposal might seem a step forward. But if you study it more deeply, it becomes clear that this proposal merely transfers the strategic armaments race onto a qualitative plane, onto the path of creating ever more advanced, destructive and far more expensive types of armament. The latter aspect is especially important for the military monopolies because it promises to provide them with fantastic profits for decades to come.

Judging by reports from Washington, however, it is considered there that one can hardly expect a favorable answer from the Soviet Union to such a proposal. They are undoubtedly right. The Soviet Union advocates a genuine end to the strategic armaments race. The path proposed by the United States is, however, very far removed from that, to put it mildly. One feels that instead of inventing such flexible approaches, the U.S. Administration should heed, first and foremost, the voice of its own people if it is really striving for success at Geneva. The overwhelming majority of the American people unambiguously express themselves in favor of a freeze on all nuclear armaments.

U.S., SOVIET INF DELEGATIONS MEET 5 OCT

LD051159 Moscow TASS in English 1139 GMT 5 Oct 83

[Text] Geneva October 5 TASS -- The delegations from the Soviet Union and the United States to the talks on the limitation of nuclear armaments in Europe held a plenary meeting here today.

USSR WEEKLY DEPICTS REAGAN AS HITLER'S SUCCESSOR

PM051152 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 Oct 83 p 3

[Arkadiy Sakhnin article under the rubric "Ideology, Politics, Culture": "The Second Pretender; Do All People Understand What Is Happening?"]

[Text] An entire gamut of feelings and thoughts. About today's agitated world, about life on earth, about the distant and the not-so-distant past, about friends and enemies. And our thoughts and feelings, generated by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov's statement, flow into one and give rise to energy and a desire to act. And you are no longer alone with your thoughts, these are not just your ideas: This is the single will of the people and the will of the earth's peoples, ineradicable like life itself. No matter how tragic the situation in the world may be, our optimism does not desert us because we are human beings and believe in mankind's reason; we believe in our ideals.

It is hard to keep inside that which has gripped your soul. And this is why I am writing.

The madman had a bomb in his hand. He was determined to rule the world. We appealed for the madman to be stopped. Let us all get together, take the bomb away, and send the sick man to hospital.

"What is the matter with you?", the Western countries' leaders smiled at us. "The madman must be treated well, tenderly. We will persuade him and placate him, and he will calm down."

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They went to Munich to try to persuade him. They were too kind and made him a gift of Czechoslovakia. He said that he had calmed down. He said that he would put the bomb away, and that would be the end of that.

Those who betrayed the Allied state were triumphant. They went back from Munich to their capitals like victors, and the Champs Elysees and the banks of the Thames echoed their triumphant "vivat."

It is well known how it all ended. Fifty-five million dead. More than half of Europe in ruins. The smoke from smoldering ashes hung all over Europe. In Asia -- Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the United States -- the low hum of electronic calculators. The cash was being counted.

The world was in mourning. In mourning, but alive. The sun rose above it. Imperialism was raging -- it had failed to exterminate the ideas of socialism. They had spread even more widely. They had moved across to other countries. They had to be stopped. Something had to be invented. It was invented. Imperialism invented the monstrous hybrid of peace and war -- the "cold war." It even devised a formula for it: "brinkmanship." Keep the world in a permanent state of tension, in fear.

The peoples perceived this. Under pressure from the peoples, imperialism seemed to accept the incipient detente. But it could not keep it up. What do you mean, detente?! So much power! Must rule the world!

A familiar tune. We heard it from the madman. It was also heard by a smart master of ceremonies, an actor from the "General Electric Theater" television program. He was advertising washing machines and detergents. He got it into his head: a career can be built round this tune. He selected the words to the tune and rehearsed the pose of sovereign. He uttered: "I will not end the ideological 'drama.'" Those who write with pain at the sound of the word "peace" liked the pose. They liked the words, too. They decided to give it a try and brought the actor in for a test. They hauled him off the theatrical and onto the political stage. On the small stage, to start with. The familiar tune sounded louder, the words more threatening. The test was successful. On to the big stage.

This is how the second plenipotentiary of imperialism to lay a claim to world domination appeared on earth in our days. He picked a team worthy of himself and settled into the White House.

Today the Second Pretender holds in his hands not a bomb but a nuclear missile. He is waving it about on land, on the water, under the water, and in the sky, and is carrying it into space. He has different missiles. He has missiles like, for example, the Titan-2 ICBM. One hit by it equals 500 Hiroshimas. Or others like the Trident-1. It strikes from a distance of 7,400 km. During its flight, its nose cone divides and spits out eight individually targetable nuclear warheads. An Ohio-class submarine carries on board 24 missiles -- 192 warheads. That means 960 Hiroshimas.

It was not I who thought of this unit for the measurement of human deaths and destruction This invention stands to the credit of those who dropped the first atomic bomb. The new unit of measurement has become firmly established as part of their daily usage. They use it in the development of new types of weapons. Thus, when developing Trident-2, whose power is almost double that of its predecessor -- about 1,800 Hiroshimas -- they calculated: One Hiroshima equals 140,000 lives, so what do 1,800 Hiroshimas equal? They multiplied these figures, and the answer was 252 million. Two hundred and fifty-two million lives, almost five times the losses suffered by humanity during the whole of World War II. This is just a single salvo from a single Ohio submarine armed with Trident-2 missiles. Suitable. They started fitting them out.

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Further calculations? Incalculable....

The gigantic military octopus overshadowed by the stars and stripes has spread all over the globe. The same flag flies over 1,500 military bases and installations located in 32 countries in the world. A destructive force that is hard to comprehend is concentrated in them.

But so what? Are we by any chance helpless in the face of this element? No, we also have something. Something serious. We can defend ourselves. This makes the Second Pretender indignant and sets him in a new state of rage. Look out, he shouts. America is in danger! How dare they?! The Russians have built the aircraft carriers Kiev and Minsk, the nuclear-powered missile cruiser Kirov, the Typhoon submarines.... But he keeps quiet about the fact that all these branches of armed forces emerged in our country only after the U.S. Navy was equipped with similar types.

And what did you think, after all: that we would build canoes to face your armadas?

The Soviet Union has 135 military plants! -- we hear from across the ocean. I don't know. Maybe we do have 135 of them. I am quite prepared to accept it. But the United States has 145, as well as 4,000 private firms completing Pentagon orders. Were we supposed to build toy factories in response to this? We would, of course, like to create only enterprises which would work for the people's benefit. But we will not allow ourselves to fall back in the military sphere -- history will not forgive that.

We have never been first in the arms race, nor have we ever wanted to be first. We were the first to build an AES. We were the first to launch a nuclear-powered ice-breaker. We were the first to go up into space, marking the beginning of a new era in mankind's development. We were and still are the first to propose that we disarm. We have proposed cutting down armed forces, we have proposed limiting production and banning development of new systems and renouncing chemical, bacteriological, and other barbarous weapons, and we have, finally, proposed complete disarmament. They reject, don't want such things. It was we who unilaterally declared that we would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Follow our example, and the question of nuclear war will fade into nonexistence. The only remaining thing would be to destroy the nuclear weapons. We have developed the technology to accomplish that. It envisages the release of incalculable energy for peaceful purposes. And for the very same purposes -- astronomical amounts of electronic and radio equipment, various instruments, metals, and other materials.

They, the others, know about this technology, but don't want to hear about it. They will not heed the voice of reason. What do they want, after all? They want us to look on as they arm themselves, and to obey them in fear of these weapons. But this is something that we don't want.

We will not allow others to determine our fate. We have been forced to keep up with armaments. We have not gone ahead one iota, but we have not fallen back, either. This is how an approximate equilibrium was established in the two worlds' armaments. Everybody knows about this. In 1981, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov declared before the whole world: "I can confirm with all responsibility that approximate equality in strategic nuclear arms exists between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO...." In the same year A. Haig, who occupied the post of secretary of state, said: "...Approximate parity between our two countries in strategic nuclear forces continues to be maintained."

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A year later the "approximate equality" was confirmed by former Defense Secretary Schlesinger. Meanwhile the Second Pretender, aware of all this, has declared that his program is to "restore strategic superiority over the USSR in 10 years."

This superiority will not materialize. Neither in 10 years, nor within any other time limits. No matter what it may cost us, it will not materialize.

In the attempt to implement his plan, he is sending Pershing and cruise missiles to Europe. Where else next? How many more? The insanity of those who are prepared to accept the new U.S. weapons on their territory is amazing. It is not clear what this could mean for them, how it could all end for them? Or are they calculating on our being unable to respond? Can they not understand that, if Washington presses the button, we will receive the signal at the same time as those standing at the control panels of the U.S. missiles? And don't let the people in Washington hope that we would limit our response only to the U.S. forces based in Europe.

What will happen? It is terrifying to think about. It is awesome to talk about. "Limited nuclear war" is a brazen bluff. The gigantic force of the split atom will not halt at border posts. There is enough of it to make the oceans boil and to melt the arctic ice. Don't let people inthe White House daydream about the mythical "limited one," don't let them hope that they will set their electronic calculators in motion again. No one will be counting any cash.

And still the Second Pretender is trying to push through the "limited one." On theeve of the opening of the UN General Assembly session, the White House released a document stamped "For Immediate Distribution." It reported the U.S. President's meeting with the heads of delegations, at which he solemnly proclaimed his intention to deliver an exceptionally important message at the current session. His intention to reveal there his new initiatives, his new constructive proposals that would finally break the deadlock at the Geneva talks.

And so he spoke. It was annoying that I did not quite understand everything in his statement. It did, however, become clear that this was not my own fault. Many people did not understand. More precisely, very few people understood. The White House realized this. To its credit, it quickly found a way out of the situation. "Explanations" to the President's speech were released the very next day. This is good. They did the right thing -- they deciphered what exactly the U.S. President wanted to say from such a high rostrum.

Even the President himself formulated some things clearly. He said, for example, that he had already and repeatedly proposed reducing strategic arms and even completely "wiping them off the face of the earth." And he defined this more precisely: What he has in mind are "fast-flying, accurate ICBM's comprising a first-strike potential." Wonderful, isn't it? Attractive, as well? Are we really against that? Well, under what conditions is this "wiping off" to take place?

At this point I would like to have interrupted his speech and asked: "And what, Mr President, about the thousands of U.S. nuclear missiles based in Europe and targeted on vital centers in the Soviet Union: are they to remain? And what about your armadas of heavy bombers with nuclear ballistic missiles: Are they to remain? And the Pershings and the cruises? Are they not first-strike weapons? Ture, according to your "flexible" option, they are such weapons in some people's hands only. In ours. We have already heard this. So where are the 'new,' the 'constructive' proposals?"

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We understand you well, Mr President. Let Europe explode while you, with medium-range weapons well out of your reach, sit on Capitol Hill and observe. Is that right?

Incidentally, about medium-range weapons. This "new initiative" by the U.S. side was very accurately described by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov. He said:

"...We are being offered talks on how to hlep the NATO bloc change the balance in medium-range nuclear means existing in Europe to its advantage. And this move is being presented as something new, without even batting an eyelid."

No, they are not proposing anything new. Nor are they acting in a new way. The U.S. Brookings Institution has calculated how they act. According to its data, between 1946 and 1975 the United States resorted on 215 occasions either directly or indirectly to the use of armed forces or threatened other countries with military interference. The question of using nuclear weapons has been on the agenda in Washington on 19 occasions. On four occasions it was proposed to use nuclear weapons against the USSR.

Why, Mr President? Just because we exist?

The team that has settled into the White House continues to scream about our superiority in arms. Yes, they lack one type of weapon which we possess. None of their scientific and design centers is capable of creating it. None of their dollars are capable of purchasing it. And we mastered this weapon a long time ago, at the dawn of the revolution, while we were still economically weak. And even at that time the force of this weapon helped us achieve victory over the allied armies of the Russian bourgeoisie and the Entente. It does not age with the passage of time. It grows stronger and becomes mroe powerful as time passes. Everyone knows that when the madman threw the bomb at us he enjoyed superiority in tanks, artillery, and aircraft, as well as in the numerical strength of the fully mobilized army, and the advantage of surprise attack. Nevertheless, he did not have and could not have had the weapon which we possess: If an idea conquers the masses, it becomes a material force.

Our ideological strength is the weapon most feared by the enemies. Our communist ideology, our world outlook, our faith in the correctness of our cause were the main weapons which helped us, even while the Great Patriotic War was in progress, to achieve complete superiority in all other types of weapons available to the enemy.

Now we are not alone. For a long time now communism has ceased to be a specter. The ideas of communism have created in Europe a mighty community of socialist countries. These ideas have crossed the frontiers of Europe. They have already gained a foothold in a number of Asian, African, and Central and Latin American countries.

Our weapon is bloodless. And we offer capitalism a bloodless competition. They are afraid. They are afraid of our ideological weapon. They want to knock it out of our hands. Beat our ideas out of people's heads. Dilute the brains, corrode morally, deprave spiritually, undermine the faith in people and the system generate an apathy toward life.

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We have been encircled not only by military bases but also by launchers and launchpads for a total psychological assault on the mind. Two U.S. radio stations, ensconced in Munich as if on their own territory, have established in various countries around us 46 powerful relay stations whose antennas are aimed at the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries. They pontificate round the clock on 80 frequencies. Their programs are in 6 East European languages and 15 languages of the USSR peoples. But these are just a few of the means whose purpose is to "bring about an evolution in the Soviet people's way of thinking."

The second pretender has already started World War III in the psychological field. He has conducted a fundamental reorganization of ideological structures. War is war -- and so has handed the leadership of propaganda over to the army and the intelligence services. He has set up a central staff for this purpose -- a government body with unlimited rights and powers, covered up by the modest title of "Special Propaganda Planning Group." He has installed his national security aide at its head. The group includes the defense secretary and the head of the CIA. This troika, together with the USIA director, comprise the central staff leadership. The troika is understandable; they are directly linked with war. But the USIA? It is nothing but the U.S. Information Agency. That is its official title. It hardly matters what it is called! The news agencies deal with information. The USIA, on the other hand, is a gigantic complex, similar in nature to Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry of blessed memory but far more powerful, whose purpose is "...to seek new ways and means of ideological infiltration of the USSR and the East European countries." All U.S. embassies have received orders from the White House team; The USIA sections "... must be accepted by all ambassadors as one of the most important elements of U.S. representation abroad."

The USIA consists of 10,000 personnel and 206 sections in various countries. Many hundreds of newspapers publish articles aimed against us on its orders, and it directs publication of special issues of journals, books, and movies -- cleverly put-together documentaries and "features" -- as well as television movies and programs; radio programs are broadcast, spectaculars are organized, special literature is delivered to libraries, and exhibitions with tendentiously selected exhibits are held. All this, taken as a whole, presents our Armed Forces as forces of aggression and is meant to generate hatred of us.

Special scientific centers act along the same lines. These are the Hoover Institute for War, Revolution, and Peace, the Russian Institute, the Research Institute on International Change, the Russian Research Center, the Research Institute on Russia and the East European Countries, the Research Insttitue on Questions of Communist Strategy and Propaganda; all together about 200 "institutes," "centers," and "foundations." They employ thousands of psychologists, sociologists, economists, financiers, engineers, doctors, military experts -- representatives of all fields of knowledge.

They submit hundreds of doctoral dissertations and develop various aspects of one and the same theme: how to poison the faith of peoples in the USSR and the socialist countries in their own social system. How to present lies so that they sound like truth. They study and present a distorted picture of our policy, our economy, our life. Their filing cabinets contain many thousands of "personal files" on our cadres. They file away service changes, incentives, awards and penalties, views, and personal inclinations concerning our scientists, writers, composers, famous athletes and actors, designers, architects.

They try to find where, who, and at what convenient time the subject of their grafting may be. They also write the scenarios of major provocations.

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They do not count the dollars when testing us in "psychological warfare", they throw away billions on it. Now they have reached another extreme: They do not count human lives. They keep on testing. They cannot understand that we will not forego our sovereignty. We will not permit espionage flights not only over our strategic bases but even over fields where we have sown potatoes.

Judging by the U.S. military preparations, its major operations in the "psychological offensive," the heating up of the atmosphere in the world, and the critical tension in international relations, we see that a deadly danger hangs not only over our motherland but over the world.

Let us recall. Aleksandrov's song "Arise, Immense Country..." came out on the third day of the Great Patriotic War. Shostakovich's famous Sixth Symphony was performed and the plays of Korneychuk and Simonov were showing in the very first period of the war. The entire creative intelligentsia, from Aleksey Tolstoy and Mikhail Sholokhov to the rank-and-file literary worker, rose to fight against the deadly danger together with all peope. Writers, painters, composers, and journalists set aside their unfinished works, declared themselves mobilized, and joined the great struggle with their weapon truth.

The war which imperialism is now planning will not have a "first
solution is not to permit war. All our strength must be devoted to this purpose.

Are we in a position to say that all Soviet writers today have oriented their creativity and their talents against the threat of war? This is the requirement of the times. Today our hearts must echo again: "Arise, Immense Country!"

This applies to every Soviet person. "Everything for the front, everything for victory!" Under this party slogan the Soviet people labored, forgetful of their own selves, and achieved victory.

We will manage to keep our self-control in today's agitated world. Just as in those victorious years, we will cast equanimity aside and roll up our sleeves. Today we cannot, we do not have the right not to work at full stretch. Each one of us must be aware of the thought: My labor consolidates our might. A might which prevents the unleashing of a nuclear catastrophe.

We are the main force which is called upon to halt the insanity. People on earth understand ever more clearly the state the world is in. And they are not keeping silent. We have entered a new historical era in the movement of social forces. History has not seen such a worldwide agitation by the peoples protesting against the new American weapons. Their voice cannot be stifled. It will echo ever louder until it turns into a gigantic material force.

Take the plugs out of your ears, Reagan. Time to think about God. That is what religious people would say. But we are realists: Think about Nuremberg.

SOVIET 'GOODWILL' TOWARD DISARMAMENT REITERATED

LD060658 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Oct 83

[Commentary by political observer Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] The attitude to the well-known statement by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, which contains a clear and articulate exposition of the Soviet foreign policy position at the present moment, is not identical. This lack of identity has been engendered by the political and ideological views of those who form an opinion about this important Soviet foreign policy document.

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